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God not only provides, He protects. He is the Father of men who are His children, 'God protects the people' (ὁ Θεὸς φυλάει τὸν κόσμο) they say. God is concerned about His creatures and, because they are dependent on Him, He is disposed to have pity and compassion on them. 'Lord have mercy on us', this simple and often repeated petition of the liturgy is well understood. God's mercy is a reflection of His love. And this, since God is all powerful, must be an unmotivated favour, except in the sense that a father loves his children simply because they are his children. When a Sarakatsanos asserts 'We believe in God' (πιστεύομε στὸν Θεό) he means not only that they believe intellectually in His existence, but that they have confidence in Him. He is thought of as being at once distant from men yet close to them. The absolute power of God, and also His absolute goodness, place a great distance between God and sinful men and this, perhaps, is reflected in the notion of His dwelling in the infinity of the sky. But since He created men with the potentiality of divinity, He remains concerned with their affairs. Sarakatsani feel that they are able to approach Him directly with simple petitions pleading for protection from evil, sickness, or want.

But in His concern for the beings He has created God, also, judges and punishes. He is a just God in the sense that no evil-doer ever escapes His judgement, yet the form this punishment assumes frequently appears to men to be capricious and unpredictable. Sometimes vengeance is not immediate but falls on the children of a guilty person. Very often misfortune seems utterly undeserved by the sufferer himself and must be simply ascribed to the will of God which passes his understanding; even other men, who seldom find it difficult to refer a misfortune suffered by another to the sin committed, will sometimes agree that the measure of God's punishment is hard, particularly when the life of a small child is taken. God the Father, then, appears to the Sarakatsani under two aspects; first as He who provides and cares, He who is merciful, approachable and near at hand; but secondly as the judge and avenger, distant and without pity. Under the second aspect there is a sense of ambivalence, even resentment, in the attitude to God, not unlike the tension and strain that enters the relations of a Sarakatsanos with his earthly father. He cannot

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3. THE WAYS TO GOD

That it is important for the Sarakatsani to be in a right relationship with God, hardly needs to be emphasized. The margin of security possessed by each family in its relative isolation is narrow. There are many anxieties; the sickness of children, the diseases of sheep, the scarcity of pasture, social prestige, and personal health. These are matters which concern each family separately, and each family in seeking to enlist God's aid and mercy attempts to establish a particular relation with Him which ignores, in this context, their fellowship with other men. In their simple and frankly pragmatic prayers it does not occur to them to pray for other men, or suffering humanity.

The everyday religious life is essentially a family cult. On a shelf, in the corner of the hut, or in a niche in the wall, are one or often two icons before which stands an open glass oil-lamp. The lamp is lit on the eve of each Sunday or important feast-day and burns through the night. In front of this simple iconostasis each member of the family stands for a moment when he gets up and before he goes to sleep. The adult men, except when they are in trouble, merely cross themselves rapidly three times but the youths and most of the women remain long enough to say a short prayer. Those who know the whole or part of 'Our Father' will recite this to themselves but they will also make some kind of general petition. A mother will say, 'O God protect us, the little ones, and my husband, and give us health and good luck (Θεέ μου νὰ μᾶς φυλάξῃς τὰ μικρά, τὸν ἄντρα μου, νὰ μᾶς δώσῃς γειὰ καὶ καλὴ τύχη).

Through the day a man (or woman) will make the sign of the cross three times when he finds himself in certain situations. A man signs himself when he suddenly confronts some danger; here it is an unspoken prayer for divine aid. He crosses himself before undertaking any important task that without God's protection may not turn out well; an example is the milking of sheep where there is always the fear of a small yield or finding diseased udders; another is the moment of setting out on a journey. After an important task is completed successfully a man again crosses himself to express his gratitude and relief. The sign of the cross is made before the members of the family share in the communion of their common meal. The sign

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788 The sign
[978] [989] expresses respect when an individual passes a church or any other sacred object. And it is also used to repulse any assault of the Devil whether this comes in the form of physical attack or moral temptation. In the summer when for a few weeks the villages have visitors from the towns, it is not uncommon to see a young shepherd cross himself when he passes a girl wearing a short-sleeved dress.

The sign of the cross is a remembrance (ἐνθύμιον) of Christ. 'If you make the cross, you remember Christ and he protects you', was one view which expresses the general belief. It is a symbol, but also more than this. It is a channel by which God's power and grace descends to man by virtue of the remembrance of Christ's sacrifice, and it is a means through which man's gratitude and respect mount to God. But most Sarakatsani insist that the sign, like the sacraments themselves, is not efficient *ex opere operato*, as the theologians would say; but only if a man repents his sins and has a 'good heart'.

● 782 77% These are the simple everyday acts of direct communion with God which in the main are general petitions for God's protection. But from time to time a man meets serious difficulties or misfortune. He is in great financial trouble, or his honour is affronted; specific and considerable favours are required of God. A direct petition is always possible but here men think of two things; that God is the Father of all men, or at least all Greeks; and that even if his judgements sometimes appear capricious and difficult to understand he is nevertheless, in principle, just and impartial. Yet God is asked for particular benefits, the granting of which may exclude others, in this respect, from the favour of God. It, therefore, seems more prudent to establish a relationship with a lesser but more easily approachable spiritual Being who will make an intercession to God or use his delegated power on behalf of the suppliant. These intercessors are the Mother of God and the Saints. Borrowing from his social experience the Sarakatsanos, who knows how patrons compete for the allegiance of a greater number of clients, believes that the Saints of the Church must be concerned about the number of their followers and the richness of their votives. They have a motive for partiality which God by the definition of his position and nature entirely lacks.

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On the other hand, the partiality of the Mother of God has a basis of compassion rather than competition. Her importance, as an intercessor, is her humanity. The idea of her immaculate conception is quite foreign to the Sarakatsani (as also generally to Orthodox theology). The miracle of the Mother of God is that she is one human being who, through an act of her own faith and will as well as the grace of God, has entirely conquered sin despite her human condition. The iconography of the Church shows her self-discipline, her compassion, a person of her sex but drained of its sensuality. For the Sarakatsani Eve and Mary are the two opposed images of Woman. Her humanity and compassion allied to her Holiness makes her the perfect intercessor between man and God. Moreover, the Sarakatsanos, thinking as he necessarily does in terms of his own social forms, finds it natural and sensible that as God's grace to men comes through Christ, men should seek benefits from God through the Mother of the Son. For she is approachable and has influence with her Son. The parallel with earthly systems of patronage is clear.

The All Holy One is naturally the eternal image of motherhood. And although petitions to her are of every kind, prayers for a sick child are especially directed to her. It is felt that however sinful the mother of the sick child may be the Mother of God must feel compassion for her. A man may call directly on his God to protect him in danger but suddenly faced with the horror or shock of some loss, great or trivial, it is the Mother of God who is invoked, Παναγία μου. For the Sarakatsani she is, above all, the comforter (Παρηγορίτισσα). She, too, has experienced loss. And it is to her that the sinner appeals to turn aside the just wrath of God.

The two Saints most popular amongst the Sarakatsani are St. George (feast-day 23rd April O.S.) and St. Demetrius (feast-day 26th October O.S.). These feast-days both punctuate the seasonal calendar at critical moments, in each case just before one of the two annual migrations; both Saints are generally concerned with pastoral life and both are warlike, horsed and armed. On all counts they suit the Sarakatsani admirably. 'We honour them because we are like them', the Sarakatsani say.[4] To St. George especially they are attached, and petitions

[4] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'

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about diseases of the sheep, pleas to soften the heart of a merchant who will not grant a desperately needed loan are very often made to this Saint. On his feast-day a lamb is always killed in his honour by every family except the very poorest, an honour which is generally only accorded to Christ at Christmas and Easter, and to the Mother of God on the feast of the Assumption (15th August). 'All the Saints look for us to sacrifice a sheep to them', the Sarakatsani explain, 'but St. George protects us'. Sarakatsani respect all the Saints but the only others chosen for particular attention are the Prophet Elias whose chapels are on hill-tops and who is associated with the mountains and the wilderness, St. Theodore another mounted warrior hero, and St. Paraskeve. Individuals, of course, sometimes turn to the Saint whose name they bear and to other Saints who are known to possess specialist powers.

If a man has a very important favour to request from a Saint (or the Mother of God), he will not be content to present it before his own icon of the particular Saint. He will worship before the icon of the Saint in a church, preferably a church or chapel dedicated to him. And in exceptionally serious matters he may not be satisfied with presenting his prayer to the icon of the Saint in his own village if he knows of an icon of the same Saint elsewhere which has a reputation for greater efficacy. The icon is not simply an image which serves to remind the worshipper of spiritual realities, it is a material object in which he believes divine energy is localized. He believes that if he approaches this manifestation of the Saint's power with a 'good heart' and a suitable offering, he will help. He agrees that it is the one Saint present in all his icons but he insists that one revelation is more efficient than another. In these ideas we see the refraction which even divine energy suffers when it enters the material and sensible world.

A suppliant asks of his intercessor favours which are often very specific and material. In return he makes some offering to express his respect and attachment to the Saint; he may also vow a further gift if help is granted. A Sarakatsanos feels free to bargain with a Saint in a way that would be unseemly towards God. The thought here is that even a Saint is open, in some sense, to flattery and honours. He cannot be displeased that he is honoured with more offerings of one kind or another

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than other Saints. Makryiannis, a hero of the Revolution, tells 776
in his memoirs how, being very poor, he entered the chapel of 782
his patron Saint to offer a silver candlestick if only he might
be granted a set of fine clothes and pistols. Sarakatsani behave
similarly. Without the least embarrassment the approach is
one of *do ut des*. The relations between Saint and worshipper [771]
resemble somewhat those of patron and client. But although
it is easy to see how the Sarakatsanos projects to some degree
the experience of his social relations into his religious life, it is
also true that the latter transcends the former. You may bribe
a lawyer to act dishonestly but you cannot do this to a Saint.
He will not aid in wickedness nor where the suppliant, however
great the gift he bears, approaches without a contrite heart.
On this point all insist.

Man acquires help and protection not only through personal
petitions to the divine Beings in the spiritual hierarchy,
although this is the mode of communion which is sought in all
critical matters. It is thought that by the grace of God divine 778
power enters and issues from a number of material objects.
Contact with or possession of these sacred objects and sub-
stances are believed to be defences against attacks of the Devil,
the envy of other men and general misfortune. The power
immanent in the Word of God is released when the priest
reads a passage over an afflicted person or when a worshipper
kisses the Book. The incense breathed in church, the possession
of a candle which burned on the representation of Christ's
tomb at Easter, the sign of the cross on a sick man's forehead
when made with oil from a lamp which has burned before an
icon, all these have 'power'. Blessed water brought from church
at the feast of Epiphany is sprinkled over the sheep. Salt,
incense, box-wood when these have been blessed and 'read
over' by the priest dur[illegible]g the service on the Thursday of Holy
Week, are kept throughout the next year—loci of divine
strength. *Antidoron*, blessed bread, which is the remainder of
the offered loaf after the seal has been cut from it for the
communion cup, is similarly conserved. However, these
materials are not simply charms. Their efficiency, as with all
the manifestations of divine aid, depends on repentance and a
'good heart'.

God is in communion with men not only spiritually through 000

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787 God is in communion with men not only spiritually through grace but intelligently through messages, generally warnings of physical danger which may be avoided and premonitions of misfortune or death which may not. Many men claim that just before they escaped some disaster a Saint appeared to warn them of its approach. Dreams, divination of a sheep's shoulder blade, the behaviour of various animals and birds, are all interpreted as messages from God.

777 In all these modes of communion a man is concerned fundamentally with establishing a relationship with God or His spiritual subordinates in order to obtain help and protection in the many difficulties which his family faces. If he is able, he must raise himself some of the way towards God; for if he succeeds in at least displaying his will in this direction there is the hope that the power of God will descend to him. The means of a poor shepherd to do this, immersed as he is in his material troubles, are slight. He may achieve a small offering and a day's fast and sexual continence before presenting an important petition to a Saint. Always he must represent to himself that he repents his sins: and he must have a 'good heart'. A 'good heart' is the will to strain towards closer fellowship with God. In this context, however, repentance and a good heart imply only weakly and indirectly the idea of fellowship with other men. As in social systems of patronage, so in their everyday religious life each family strives to achieve a particular and exclusive relationship with subordinate spiritual beings and through them to draw down to their aid more of the divine power than other families.

771 But the grace of God, the favour of God, comes to men only 776 through the sacrifice of Christ. It will not have escaped notice how little His name has appeared in this brief review of cult. [782] Sarakatsani, at least, seem to direct few prayers to Him. In their religious belief God has two hypostases or persons, Father and Saviour. When they refer to God, Θεός, they normally mean the Creator, Father, Protector, and Punisher of men, present everywhere yet separated from them morally by an immense distance. Christ is the Saint, Ἅγις, or the Master, ὁ Ἀφέντης,[1] that is God in the person of a man like themselves, who sacrificed Himself that other men might overcome the

[1] See Chatzimichalis, op. cit., vol. i, Part A, p. ρλζ'.

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for physical survival. A man's state of grace is never static, always dynamic. He strains towards God but is ever pulled downward by the weight of the human condition of sin; yet periodically the saving grace of Christ's blood allows him again to approach nearer to God.

The receipt of the sacrament is not a passive act. Men must give some pledge of their will to turn to God. At the greater religious festivals, Christmas, Easter, St. George, the feasts of Assumption and St. Demetrius, when they may communicate, Sarakatsani sacrifice a lamb or sheep (θυσιάζουν, χάνουν κουρμπάνι). Other occasions when sheep are slaughtered are similarly religious as well as social events, weddings, baptisms, or the dedication (τάξιμο) of an animal to a Saint if men or sheep fall sick. Sheep are never killed for meat but only in the form of sacrifice. Preferably the animal should be male and 'clean', that is a lamb, or a ram that has not mounted a ewe. The sheep is believed to know its fate to which it goes quietly and willingly. In describing forms of sheep theft I have suggested that the sheep which support the life and honour of a family have a spiritual as well as an economic value. Of the white Easter lamb they say, 'we bleed it to honour Christ' (τὸ ματώνομε νὰ τιμήσωμε τὸν Χριστό). A shepherd skins a sheep with swift and confident strokes of the knife but his face is strained and concentrated as he cuts into the artery in the animal's neck. With this sacrificial stroke he gives something of himself. The Sarakatsani are conscious of this element of reciprocity. As Christ pours out his blood to open a way between men and God, so the Sarakatsanos pours out the surrogate blood of his sheep to the same end. And since the sheep is the means of establishing a partial relationship between man and God, those who share its flesh are participating in a form of sanctified communion. And, for the same reason, God chooses to communicate intelligently with men through the shadow markings on the shoulder blade and the condition of the liver.

A man must prepare himself in other ways. He must fast for forty days before the beginning of the 'Great Week', and in this matter the Sarakatsani are more strict than many villagers. Olives, cheese, eggs, milk, meat, fish are not eaten. During Easter week itself even bread is abandoned and the

spread sudden panics, and when they are not actively engaged in evildoing, they skulk out of sight but within earshot and play their flutes.

Good and evil omens, as of old, are discerned in the flight of birds. The nomads abhor eagles and vultures and all birds of prey that hover on high: they belong to the devil, and are thus in league with the evil spirits. When these harbingers of peril hang in midair above a caravan, they are spying on the destination. The nomads' abomination of these birds may also spring from the occasional raids of eagles, when newborn kids are carried away bleating piteously into the sky. The nomads prophesy from entrails, and like most ancient and modern Greeks, they read the future in the markings on sheep's shoulder blades. Their sacrifices, *kourbania*, are frequent. A *Pitta*, a kind of cake which is baked in a wide metal pan, is the rather gloomy fare at most of their feasts, as they consider it wrong to kill and eat an animal without some ritual excuse. So, as the only meat they get is that when a beast is slaughtered for a sacrificial occasion, they pine for these pretexts, even when the cause is a distressing one. A wedding or the christening of a *tsellingas*' son, the illness of one of their community, an epidemic among the flocks, the birth of a seven-month child, the arrival of an honored guest, or the end of shearing — all these are occasions for meat. The sacrificial beast is always roasted whole on a spit, and its throat is cut as it lies on a flat branch with its eyes looking into the sun. The act is surrounded by much mystery, and the nomads peer at the insides for mantic significance; and at Easter, a bloody cross from the paschal lamb is dabbed on the shoulders of children.

The approach to Lent, and especially the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday before Lent, used to be the signal for much behavior which was not found elsewhere. The wearing of masks, the painting of faces, the donning of whiskers and beards of goat's hair, and the young men dressing up as women — all this, with copious drinking, horseplay, and cheerful frisking about among the wigwams, is pretty current practice still, a token of rustic carnival zest. But formerly it took a much more stylized form. A heavily painted young man clad in a scarlet dress and long goatskin locks was chosen as a bride, and a whiskered and skin-clad comrade represented the groom; others were rigged out as the priest, the *koumbaros*, and the wedding guests. A mock Christian marriage was then irreverently solemnized, followed by dances which were far more uninhibited than are those at a real marriage. The bridal

/257 cont./
the dogs and the reed of the shepherd symbolizing herding, the distaff, the wool crafts, the horseshoes, the means of transport and the migrations, the vipers and scorpions, the protective forces.

The complex of ideas and beliefs symbolized by all these practices is clear. As a female who is a virgin, the young girl is the most appropriate being to promote birth, especially the birth of female animals at the very moment when one cycle ends and another begins it for the new year coincides with the period of lambing. The woman, besides, is a tangible force of fertility and is very often found at the center of customs and rites having to do with the fertility of the earth. (26)

26. See G. Van der Leeuw: Ibid., p. 85-86 and material cited by him.

Moreover, she is connected with the moon from which she derives her symbolic virtues. As a result, she is likewise bound up with the waters. (27)

27. Varron: Ling. Lat. 5, 61.--The goddess of fertility is the goddess of the waters.--See J. Przyluski: Ibid., p. 27.--She ruled the elements, held sway over the air and the waters. --See Ch. Picard: Ibid., p. 377.

She is thus charged with pouring butter and cheese into the spring--a libation for abundance, (28) very conveniently connected with the ritual

28. The offerings at springs, pools and water holes are very frequent in different regions of Greece, and are practiced to the same ends as those of the Sarakatsani, see Ph. Koukoules: Ibid., vol. I, part II. p. 274 and his citations.

of Christmas day. It completes the latter and its specific symbolism aims to assure one after another the following ends: fertility, birth of females, productive animals, abundance.

The symbolic efficacy of fire, here in the form of the half-charred log, (29) of grain in the form of the pastry, of the snake and the scorpion

533 /261 cont./
796 the Great Goddess, the Dioscuri, the sun and the moon.
789 --M. Eliade: Ibid., p. 132, says that "Helios is also
796 titan, epiphany of generative forces...In Crete, Helios
[191] is taurin and becomes the spouse of the Great Mother"...
"in addition he maintained relations with the chosen
world of darkness: sorcery and the underworld." Also,
he is connected with the snake.

[821] the moon and the snake are all summoned to fulfill auspicious functions
[825] as we know. On this point it is necessary to specify that in this verse
796 there is no contradiction between the invocation of the influence of the
789 sun which drives away the chthonian spirits and that of the snake, al-
821 though the latter is a personification of chthonian forces. In magic
825 rites in general, moreover, the direction of every force evoked is exerted
533 depends upon the orientation /262/ that the practitioner assigns to it. (36)

36. M. Eliade: Images et Symboles, p. 147.--
See also the preceding footnote on the sun-
serpent relations.

796 The coherence of the song is therefore absolutely safeguarded. Finally,
789 the last lines that speak of the stones of the house are the result of
533 acculturation, a borrowing of verses sung under the same circumstances by
177 young people in surrounding society. (37)

[527] 37. These are popular songs sung on Christmas Eve
and New Year's day, which include wishes for the
domus and hence for the longevity of the inhabitants.

791 The syncretism with Christianity of these more ancient ideas which
796 have given rise to these ceremonies is obvious.
198

789 Now, the theme of abundance finds considerable support in the practices
we have just described, since in general where there is fertility, abundance
[182] follows. Moreover, certain parts of these same practices are directly con-
[796] cerned with it (offerings at the springs--parts of the scenario of Epiphany,
[585] etc.). But there is more: there is the ritual performed by the bride at

/262 cont./

789 585 the time of the nuptials, which begins with the pastry decorated in the manner referred to above. With this ritual we gradually move away from the circle of ideas dealing with the Mother-Goddess and enter another, as we shall see presently.

We know that during the solemn preparation of this pastry the blessing and the wishes of the nearest relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, etc.) are sought. The mystic power of the word of those who are best disposed to utter it is thus combined with the presence of the grain transformed into flour and then bread, the symbol of subsistence. Added to it is the potency of the coin that the attendants throw into a receptacle when the wishes are formulated--a potency that we shall examine farther on. However, this is only one part of the rites. The other part takes place the very day of the nuptials. When the bride arrives in front of the hut of the groom, and before she dismounts from her horse, she breaks her pastry on her head, without using a knife, into four pieces which she tosses around her. Likewise, still mounted, she must then throw rice and candy (606) (609) which her mother-in-law or her sister-in-law offer her on a tray. The gesture of scattering bread, rice and candy and the multiplicity symbolized by the last two items will ensure abundance. Nature will show her generosity toward the new home. Moreover, the rice will contribute to "the taking-root of the couple" (according to a play of words in Greek in which "rice" and /263/ "root" are identical) and the candy will "sweeten" their lives. Dismounting from her horse, the bride heads towards the hut; she crushes a pomegranate on the ground and its seeds are scattered on the ground--a further symbol of the abundance and fertility of the earth. Once (293) (782) under her new roof, she empties on a piece of fabric stretched out on the ground two cups of wine (symbol of life and immortality). (38) The Sarakatsani

38. See Iliad, 9, 705 f. "...enjoying bread and wine, for these are the sources of strength and courage..." (171) According to Pliny: Natural History, 1412, the Greeks call life the act of drinking wine.--For the Babylonians

/263 cont./

the tree of immortality is the vine: M. Eliade: Ibid., pp. 247 and 248, "the vine, the plant expression of immortality--just as the vine in archaic traditions has remained the symbol of youth and eternal life." say that this libation gives rise to "health, abundance and good fortune." Sometimes the bride also pours out water, in order to be always "fresh as water."

However, abundance is further sustained by the snake for the polyvalent symbolism of the latter promotes abundance. Though explicit testimonies are lacking, the facts speak for themselves. It will be recalled that the Sarakatsani have extensive woodcrafts. On all the wooden objects they make are found various decorative motifs, mostly geometric and generally beautiful. Looking at them closely one immediately realizes that the snake, or rather the viper, appears only on the staffs of the shepherds or on the distaffs (fig. 104).A It is certain that the handle of the staff, in the shape of a definite and marked curvature, in itself suggests the movement of a snake. But the shape of the distaff calls to mind nothing similar. Moreover, nothing explains the absence of this motif on other objects. Now, it is obvious that the presence of the animal on the staff and the distaff is symbolic much more than it is ornamental. The snake accompanies these objects because they represent the two principal economic activities of the Sarakatsani, herding and wool crafts. If it is agreed that the chthonian forces favor fecundity and fertility, hence abundance, the viper will augment the yield from these two fundamental activities.

To complete our discussion of this subject we must still mention the Sarakatsani observances bearing on the propitious days for the performance of certain tasks. Thus, the shearing must never begin on Tuesday. On the other hand, it is altogether advisable to start the shearing on Maundy Thursday by symbolically removing a little wool from a sheep. Maundy

A, /See p. 429--Analyst/

/270 cont./

must then dipose them favorably toward her child. In order to do this she places near it a cup full of sweets and honey, offering it at one and the same time to the fairies and so that "fate in store for it may be sweet"-- a procedure with a double efficacy. According to the report of Madame Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani the next day look for a black dot on the nose of the child; its position reveals the verdict of the moires. Placed near the forehead, it foretells a happy fate; near the base of the nose it is a sign of ill fortune. (59)

59. Ibid., D.I., p. ٤٤٦

The last category of supernatural beings which threaten men are the ogres, fabulous personages, heroes of numerous tales especially meant for children and told in front of the fire during the long winter evenings. (60)

60. Carsten Höeg: Ibid., A. p. 50 f., presents a regular collection of stories of ogres.

We shall not dwell further on these legends which require literary analysis.

The magic rites that protect against illness aim more at prevention than cure. By enriching the body's potential one avoids "evils." The idea that the Sarakatsani form about the latter is rather confusing, supernatural attack and disease or physiological disorder being very often identified in their thinking. Hence magical intervention must be exerted in connection with particular circumstances in the lives of men and animals--circumstances of "transition" according to the current terminology--without detriment to other interventions on various occasions.

The moment the child comes into the world its lips are smeared with some drops of blood from the woman who has borne it. If it is born with a caul, the membrane that covers its face is carefully removed by being drawn toward the chin and not toward the forehead, in order to avoid strabismus. The membrane then serves as an amulet. In order to stop the bleeding of the umbilical cord they put on the bleeding end the ashes of a burned bit of the father's cloak.

/276 cont./

754 The evil eye, this baneful influence, which aims to make every effort ineffective, business unprofitable, and to bring sickness and even death to men and animals, is independent of the moral quality, the good [828] or bad character of the one who sets it in motion. Looking upon anything [826] with admiration or envy is enough to bring about the catastrophe. It seems that gray-blue eyes, but also black ones or even non-separated [782] eyebrows are gifted with this power. This very ancient belief (77)

[171] [113] 77. All the peoples of the Orient and the Mediterranean believe in the evil eye. Their sacred books as well as ancient literature testify to this. On the survival of these beliefs in the folklore of modern Greece see, for example, J. Guthbert-Lawson: Modern Greek Folklore /cited in English/: B. Schmith: Ibid., pp. 574-613.

is so firm that it has gone over into religion; /277/ the Orthodox Church uses a special prayer against the evil eye.

754 789 The Sarakatsani use the sky-blue ball, as we have seen, as are evocation of the blue eye, (78) as a means of neutralizing it. Sometimes

78. The same idea as that with the wearing of nettles or the carrying of the weight from a fairy's spindle. Imitations of these are sold at fairs and nowadays in shops.

these balls are painted with an iris for a more faithful imitation. A small black spot put behind the ears of children may possibly suffice. (79)

[171] 79. Koukoules: Ibid., E.A. II, p. 242, says that the women of Byzantium smeared the foreheads of children with dirt taken from the public baths.-- Ἰω. ΧΡΥΣΟΣΤΟΜΟΣ: M. P. G. 61, 109. He reports also that in Arcadia soot was put behind the child's ear. See also S. Seligmann: Der böse Blick und Verwandtes, vol. II, p. 275.

The cowrie found on amulets, the shape of which resembles that of the eyeball, [827] plays the same role. It is generally advisable to spit three times on an

/301 cont./

121 will enable us better to show both the cosmological conceptions of the
789 Sarakatsani and the specific characteristics of his magic.

789 Now, the forces--first causes of the world, arouse /302/ contra-
783 dictory feeling in the Sarakatsani. (108)
121

108. This is a universal phenomenon, well known by theorists. See, for example, R. Caillois: L'homme et le sacré, pp. 39, 41, 46-49, and his quotations.

We find there, side by side, hope and fear, trust and respect. Once their mission is accomplished, the forces that have given birth to the child become dangerous. The purification of the child and the woman in childbirth after the birth aims to rid them of the presence of these
[562] forces, thereafter considered impure. Likewise, the woman, the symbol
[841] of universal fertility, is considered impure, hence dangerous, at the time of the menses, for at that time her creative attributes and consequently the forces underlying them appear in full array. The snake,
[825] for its part, is used as an amulet only after it has been blessed by the church, so that the dangerous properties that are always present alongside its beneficent properties are diminished. And we shall see later on that a dead person, though bound up with fertiltiy, is also considered impure; he causes a contamination from which one must be purified.

789 Furthermore, the Sarakatsani feels himself altogether dependent
12 on these forces. He evokes them he addresses himself to them but his magical manipulations do not inevitably lead to the desired effect. The
[124] forces must still deign to grant him their favors. On this point our informants were definite.

In the third place, it is sometimes apparent that the Sarakatsani
[782] tries to propitiate the forces. He offers honey to the Fates, cheese and butter to the waters, wine to the earth--true libations offered to the entities that determine his destiny.

/331 cont./

796 474 554 [188] [252] the entrance of the hut. After that he kindles the fire and puts the lamb on the spit; he personally oversees the cooking of it. The women do not interfere in it. Thereupon everybody feasts.

[596] /332/ All this has an unquestionably ceremonial and sacrificial character; this time the protagonist is a man, the head of the family or the Tséligas.

796 [776] [474] [554] [574] [782] Variations of the same ritual are repeated during the festivals of St. Demetrius and St. George, both (especially the first), considered protectors of the Sarakatsani. They are also carried out on the occasion of the personal anniversary of the Tséligas, when a stranger calls in the konakia and is offered hospitality, and finally for the votive festival of the stani, the group formed around the business, that is to say, the Tséligato.

796 782 474 596 776 [554] This last point requires a more detailed explanation. Many Tséligatos are "dedicated" to a saint. Sometimes, in case of necessity, out of confusion or despair, certain Tséligas implore the help of a saint by promising to offer, on the day of his anniversary and in perpetuity, at a church or a monastery dedicated to him, money, incense, candles, lambs, etc. Very often, a small flock is formed, the profit from which "is consecrated to the saints." This promise is scrupulously kept and is obligatory for the descendants of the one who made the vow. Of course, the festival of the stani is celebrated on the day of its patron saint's anniversary.

796 755 782 [252] [262] In case of serious illness it is customary to summon the priest, to read the prayers for the sick, and to celebrate a mass in a monastery or a church. Then, with the customary offerings (bread, wine, oil, incense, candles, etc.), the Sarakatsani bring a lamb which they attach to the door of the church during the service and which is killed and roasted on the spit afterwards, like a sacrifice. The meat is distributed among all

/332 cont./
the people who attended the service and who must make prayers conforming to the wishes of those who organized the ceremony.

Let us note that the killing and common consumption of a lamb are required on two other occasions, marriage and baptism, and that, in addition, the same practice is found in the funeral customs of which we shall speak later on.

The explanation of these customs is very simple. Semantics is very useful to us on this point. To indicate the solemn putting to death of the lamb, the Sarakatsani use the Turkish word courbani or the Greek thusia which means "sacrifice."

At first glance one might be tempted by the hypothesis that the term "sacrifice" has merely an economic meaning--/333/ the death of any animal representing a privation for the herder. This interpretation, very incomplete if not biased, is inadequate.

The context in which the sacrifice takes place suggests three hypotheses: the sacrifice is first of all an offering to divine forces. It is also a gift to an outside visitor. Finally, it is an immolation bound up with certain circumstances of transition.

One fact among those we have mentioned is particularly revealing in connections with the ideas determining these customs. It is the offering of lambs to the church because of a vow or under pressure of a serious illness. In both cases a life is offered to ward off the threats against existence and to safeguard the life of the group or of an individual. There is here an exchange of potentialities which ethnography and the history of religions have known for a long time.

The offering of a life to ensure a favorable outcome in new situations originates from the same concern. The immolation of animals at the time something new materialites, for example, the foundations of a new house is known in Greek custom. And in Hellenic folklore there is a

/333 cont./

782 very lovely song that tells how, in order to achieve solid foundations
191 for the bridge of Arta, the master mason found himself obliged to immure his beloved wife!

574 Finally, the offering of the lamb to the visitor (unknown and as
571 such considered dangerous by the Sarakatsani--as the analysis of
182 matrimonial customs has sufficiently demonstrated) aims to establish
431 with him relations of exchange which will obligate him to develop social
782 relations of cooperation, hence peaceful relations, with the hosts.

Taking our inspiration from G. Van der Leeuw (6)

6. See La religion, pp. 342-349.

whose reflections are guided by the ideas of Mauss (7)

7. See H. Hubert and M. Mauss: Le Sacrifice, p. 124 f.

and Malinowski, (8) we could say with him that in the sacrifice one must

8. See Br. Malinowski: Argonautes.

see "the circulation of power". It is not a rationalistic do ut des /I give so that you may give/, but a do ut possis dare," I give you power so that you may have it," and that therefore life may not be hampered, paralyzed for lack of power.

We are not unaware that this thesis presupposes two ideas: that of the circulation of "potentials" and furthermore that of the /334/ archaic significance of the gift, (9)

9. See M. Mauss: Essai sur le Don /Essay on the gift/, Conclusion.

the existence of which among the Sarakatsani has not been shown. Of course, the transmissibility of qualities is a form of circulation. And the gift to the potentially dangerous visitor might remind us of the "potlatch," /cited in English/ the kula, etc. However, we are not brought to a scientific conviction that the two ideas in question underlie transmissibility nor hospitality as they appear among the Sarakatsani.

/334 cont./

782 182 771 On the other hand, the thesis of Van der Leeuw seems to possess the attributes of a good explanatory hypothesis and, in this form, it may be accepted. (10)

10. In one passage, Madame Hadjimichali (ibid., A.I., p. [illegible]), probably influenced by W. Robertson Smith: La Religion des Sémites /The religion of the Semites/, and also by the "totemic repast" of psychoanalytical theory, speaks of "the sacred animal which is eaten by its worshippers so that the entire Sarakatsani family may partakes of its strength, in order to transmit the latter to the flocks." This interpretation of the sacrifice of the lamb does not seem to us justified, for it presupposes totemism. Now, in Greece no trace of totemism has been found, despite assertions to the contrary by G. Thomson: Eschyle--Athènes, Greek translation p. 25.--See J.E. Harrison: Greek Religion, /cited in English/, chapter III and her explanation of the sacrifice during antiquity. Moreover, scientific criticism has shown that the hypothesis of the "totemic repast" does not correspond to reality. R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 87, says in particular that "the only cases known of the totemic repast are the sacrifices of the camel among the Bedouins studied by R. Smith (and even that required a partial restoration) the ceremonies of the Intichiuma of the Australian Aranda. It is completely unknown, hundreds of other totemic tribes scattered throughout the world. And it is not certain that the Aranda give us the most archaic form of totemism." Identical critical reflections are found in M. Nilsson: [illegible], p. 71, who also refers to J. Harrison: Prolegomena, p. 84.

[114]

782 771 171

/334 cont./

782 Be that as it may, these practices presupposing the sacrifice
771 or based on it, reflect beliefs prior to Christianity. They have
[177] therefore originated from a process of acculturation, similar to that which we have described in the context of practices of the first category so that we need not go over these again.

771 Nevertheless, it should not be believed that this is a phenomenon
171 peculiar to the Sarakatsani. Existing studies pertaining to cultural
178 substrata of the Hellenic people show that what is commonly called "folk religion" includes practices and ideas such as those that have just been analyzed. Nearly everywhere folk religion and, in certain cases, even the official church have incorporated what previously existed. However, among the Sarakatsani, survivals are more evident, their meaning is clearer and their significance in the social life of our herders is more pronounced.

/335/ FUNERAL CUSTOMS

761 Toward death the Sarakatsani adopt an attitude full of courage and philosophy. They know that death is an inevitable phenomenon that one must face with dignity.

The old women prepare a bag containing the clothing and shroud in which they will be wrapped. The women about to give birth do the same;
[844] they know that childbirth may endanger their lives. According to Madame
[538] Hadjimichali, the Sarakatsani have an adage, "death follows us everywhere, perched behind our ears." (1)

1. Ibid., A.I., ;.

This certainly does not mean that they are indifferent to death; on the contrary. They are interested in it to such an extent that they envelop death with a layer of manifestations and acts the content of which is based on their organization and their social life, as well as the totality of their anthropological and religious ideas.

/341 cont./

769 up in the hair of the living and strike someone! For Saint Lazarus,
796 psychoùdia, small loaves that the women prepare the day before are
[783] distributed among the huts. Those /women/ who are not "clean"--a
[841] term that designates equally the women who are menstruating, those who
[838] have had sexual relations with their husbands the night before, and also
[515] those who have not washed their bodies--may not take part in their
[596] preparation. It is the eldest daughter of the family who must distribute /the loaves/, and if there are no daughters, the mother.

769 Now, from the description of this ritual one must conclude that the forgiveness of the dead by the living is expressed solemnly, collectively and with the concurrence of the Church which adds its forgiveness to that of men.

[178] Nevertheless, through this same ritual we see the ancient pre-Christian beliefs about the life cycle integrated with Christian ideas, but re-interpreted in terms of the latter.

761 The symbolism of the acts and materials used is very clear,
764 especially after our analysis of magic: earth (placing the body and
789 the kolyva on the ground-during the interment the relatives must throw a
182 handful of earth on the eyes of the dead person); grain (koluva--psychoùdia); woman (weeping, preparing and distributing kolyva and psychoùdia); resurrection of a person of distinction (Saint Lazarus), etc., all are harnessed to implement the ceaseless regeneration and repetition of life. The great creative forces of the universe will intervene, thanks to these acts whose efficacy lies in the postulates of mythic transmission and of representation. The deceased, like the seed, is put in the earth to disintegrate and produce new life. The sacrifice of /342/ the lamb during
[782] the funeral feasts adds its influence. A life is offered for another life
[779] which must one day appear to replace that which has faded out.